

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10 AID-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 595

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1886

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, UN, WA

SUBJECT: AMB SCALI'S STATEMENT TO SC ON NAMIBIA

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AMB SCALI'S JUNE 3 STATEMENT TO SC
CONCERNING NAMIBIA.

QUOTE MR. PRESIDENT:

MAY I ADD MY GOOD WISHES TO THOSE OF MY COLLEAGUES UPON
YOUR ACCESSION TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL. I
ASSURE YOU OF THE FULL COOPERATION OF THE UNITED STATES
DELEGATION. I ALSO WOULD LIKE TO CONGRATULATE OUR DISTINGUISHED
COLLEAGUES FROM GUYANA UPON THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY SO ABLY
PRESIDED OVER THE COUNCIL DURING THE MONTH OF MAY.

LAST DECEMBER THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED SECURITY COUNCIL
RESOLUTION 366. WE VOTED "YES" IN THE BELIEF THAT THE TEXT,
THOUGH IMPERFECT IN SOME WAYS, ADEQUATELY REFLECTED OUR VIEW
THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD ACT QUICKLY AND DECISIVELY TO
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END ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA. WE BELIEVE, MOREOVER,

THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL RIGHTLY PLACED ITS VIEWS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BEFORE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND URGED IT TO MOVE PROMPTLY ALONG THE PATH INDICATED.

DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS, THERE HAS BEEN SOME FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION, BUT NOT ENOUGH. IT IS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT REGARDLESS OF HOW DISAPPOINTED WE ARE AT THE PACE OF STEPS TOWARD GENUINE SELF-DETERMINATION AT THIS STAGE WE MUST MOVE CAREFULLY LEST WE WORSEN RATHER THAN IMPROVE THE OUTLOOK FOR JUSTICE AND FREEDOM.

IN THIS CONNECTION WE HEAR CALLS FOR AN ARMS EMBARGO. THE RECORD OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN THIS RESPECT IS ONE OF WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CAN BE PROUD. FOR TWELVE YEARS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS VOLUNTARILY REFUSED TO ALLOW SHIPMENTS OF AMERICAN ARMS AND MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO SOUTH AFRICA. OUR GOVERNMENT HAS DONE THIS AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE. WE DO SO OUT OF CONVICTION AND NOT BECAUSE WE ARE REQUIRED TO DO SO BY AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM. IF OTHERS WISH, THEY CAN JOIN US IN SUCH A VOLUNTARY POLICY, AND WE EARNESTLY INVITE THEM TO DO SO.

AS THE SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERS WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS IT CAN TAKE FOR THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA, THERE ARE FOUR FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS AS WE SEE THEM:

- WHETHER THERE IS A COMMITMENT BY SOUTH AFRICA TO A COURSE OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR ALL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA, AND TO RESPECT FOR THEIR RIGHTS;

- THE TIMING OF STEPS TOWARD SELF-DETERMINATION ONCE THAT PRINCIPLE IS ACCEPTED BY SOUTH AFRICA;

- THE QUESTION WHETHER ALL NAMIBIANS, OF WHATEVER COLOR, POLITICAL AFFILIATION, OR SOCIAL ORIGIN, WOULD HAVE THEIR VOICES HEARD IN DETERMINING THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY;
AND

- THE UNITED NATIONS' ROLE IN THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF ALL OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA.

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THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT MADE PUBLIC ITS POSITION ON NAMIBIA IN A LETTER FROM FOREIGN MINISTER MULLER TO SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM ON MAY 27. IN THIS LETTER, THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER RESTATED MANY POSITIONS ALREADY PUT FORWARD BY HIS GOVERNMENT.

MY DELEGATION BELIEVES WE SHOULD EXPLORE SOUTH AFRICA'S

OFFER TO RESUME A DIALOGUE WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL AND TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS WITH THE CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED NATIONS COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND WITH THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY. WE FULLY RECOGNIZE THE PAST DIFFICULTIES IN SUCH DIALOGUES AND WE NOTE THE RESTRICTIVE TERMS OF SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENT OFFER. NONETHELESS, IN OUR VIEW, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT NEW EFFORTS BE MADE TO DETERMINE WHETHER, IN FACT, A GENUINE DISCUSSION CAN NOW BE INITIATED IN THESE CHANNELS.

WE ALSO NOTE THAT THE LETTER OF MAY 27, IN DISCUSSING THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY, STATES THAT ALL OPTIONS ARE OPEN, INCLUDING "INDEPENDENCE AS ONE STATE." WE HAVE ALSO NOTED THAT THIS LETTER REITERATES SOUTH AFRICA'S RECOGNITION OF THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF THE TERRITORY AND STATES THAT IT IS THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT'S WISH THAT A CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE TAKE PLACE IN AS SHORT A TIME AS POSSIBLE.

MR. MULLER'S WORDS GO SOMEWHAT BEYOND THE ASSURANCES HE GAVE THE SECRETARY GENERAL IN APRIL 1973. THEY MAY REFLECT A MORE REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. AMBIGUITIES REMAIN, AND SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD PROVIDE CLARIFICATION OF ITS INTENT. WE WISH TO KNOW MORE PRECISELY WHEN AND IN WHAT MANNER THE PLANNED CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION WILL BE CONDUCTED AND WHO EXACTLY WILL PARTICIPATE.

DURING THE COUNCIL'S DEBATE ON DECEMBER 17, 1974 I CALLED UNEQUIVOCALLY FOR PRECISION AND DETAIL IN SOUTH AFRICAN PLANNING FOR NAMIBIA'S FUTURE. COUPLED WITH POSITIVE ACTION, SUCH CLARITY IS CALLED FOR TO ENSURE A PEACEFUL AND REALISTIC SETTLEMENT OF THE TERRITORY'S FUTURE. MR. MULLER'S MOST RECENT STATEMENTS MAY OFFER HOPE THAT SOUTH AFRICA WILL ALLOW A TRULY UNCLASSIFIED

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FAIR EXERCISE OF SELF-DETERMINATION IN NAMIBIA. SOUTH AFRICA MUST NOW MOVE FROM GENERAL STATEMENTS OF PURPOSE TO SPECIFIC IMPLEMENTING ACTION. CAN SOUTH AFRICA BE IN ANY DOUBT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WANTS THESE STEPS TO DEFINE NAMIBIA'S SEPARATE STATUS, AND THE TIMETABLE FOR CARRYING THEM OUT, AND THESE TO BE STATED IN UNAMBIG;)W0Z_86| MYT-*(EB HR

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-10 EA-10 NEA-10 AID-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 599

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMCONSUL CAPETOWN

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 1886

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THIS COUNCIL ESPECIALLY, HAVE A UNIQUE AND GRAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NAMIBIA AND ITS FUTURE. SOUTH AFRICA HAS NOW GIVEN US SOME REASON TO EXPECT THAT IT ACKNOWLEDGES THE INTEREST OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY IN NAMIBIA EVEN THOUGH IT STILL HAS NOT ACCEPTED UNITED NATIONS PARTICIPATION IN THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NAMIBIA. ONCE AGAIN WE DECLARE TO SOUTH AFRICA THAT IT IS OUR CONSIDERED VIEW THAT WITHOUT A ROLE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE SELF-DETERMINATION PROCESS, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT JUDGE PROGRESS OBJECTIVELY AND THEREFORE CANNOT BE SATISFIED THAT THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA WILL BE ABLE TO EXERCISE A DEMOCRATIC CHOICE AS TO THEIR FUTURE.

THE UNITED STATES FOR ITS PART REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE VIEW THAT (A) ALL THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA SHOULD WITHIN A SHORT TIME BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS THEIR VIEWS FREELY AND UNDER UNITED NATIONS SUPERVISION ON THE POLITICAL FUTURE AND CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE TERRITORY; (B) THAT ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL GROUPS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO CAMPAIGN FOR THEIR VIEWS AND TO PARTICIPATE WITHOUT HINDRANCE
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IN PEACEFUL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN THE COURSE OF THE PROCESS OF SELF-DETERMINATION; (C) THAT THE TERRITORY SHOULD NOT BE SPLIT UP IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE POLICY OF APARTHEID; AND (D) THAT THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE FREELY EXPRESSED CHOICE OF ITS INHABITANTS.

AS WE CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR THESE GOALS, THE UNITED STATES WILL SUSTAIN ITS PRESENT POLICIES WITH REGARD TO THE TERRITORY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DISCOURAGE UNITED STATES INVESTMENT IN

NAMIBIA AND TO DENY EXPORT-IMPORT BANK GUARANTEES AND OTHER FACILITIES FOR TRADE WITH NAMIBIA. WE WILL CONTINUE TO WITHHOLD UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PROTECTION OF UNITED STATES INVESTMENTS, MADE ON THE BASIS OF RIGHTS ACQUIRED THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AFTER 1966, AGAINST THE CLAIMS OF A FUTURE LAWFUL GOVERNMENT OF NAMIBIA. THIS POLICY REFLECTS OUR STRONGLY HELD BELIEF THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD ACT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE TO END ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA.

MR. PRESIDENT, THE OBLIGATION OF THIS COUNCIL IS TO FOSTER A PEACEFUL AND JUST SETTLEMENT. OUR AGREED GOAL IS THE EXERCISE BY THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA OF THEIR RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION. AS A RESPONSIBLE DELIBERATIVE BODY, IT IS OUR DUTY TO ENCOURAGE ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED AND TO EXPLORE EVERY POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY FOR LAUNCHING THE PROCESS OF TIMELY SELF-DETERMINATION.

IN VIEW OF THE FACTS OF THE NAMIBIAN SITUATION, IT IS DIFFICULT TO FIND THAT A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY EXISTS WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE CHARTER. THE PARTY SEEN BY SOME AS CAUSING THE THREAT HAS AGREED ON SOME OF THE OBJECTIVES DESIRED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND HAS OFFERED TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE MEANS OF ACHIEVING THEM. THIS CLEARLY DOES NOT ADD UP TO A CRISIS, PEACE-AND-WAR SITUATION AT THIS TIME. THUS, IN OUR VIEW, IT WOULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE TO INVOKE MANDATORY SANCTIONS WHICH SPECIFICALLY ARE RESERVED FOR THREATS TO THE PEACE. WE BELIEVE THE COUNCIL, IN COLLABORATION WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES, SHOULD INSIST THAT SOUTH AFRICA GIVE CONCRETE EFFECT TO ITS WORDS, GIVE FIRM ASSURANCES ABOUT THE ISSUES ON WHICH IT HAS NOT YET DECLARED ITS POSITION, AND MOVE FORWARD WITH DISPATCH TOWARD A NEW ENVIRONMENT
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OF FREEDOM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. UNQUOTE
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